4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

He went to the altar and took from the wall the headdress and the bustle. The belt consisted of a strip of deerskin to the middle of which were fastened three sticks about two feet long and decorated with deer hair. At each end of the opposite side hung two sets of crow feathers with wolf tails between each two feathers. 539 756

He gave these to Crow-feather with instructions to take them home and return the next day with his pipe and tobacco. When he returned to his lodge the people asked where he had been, but he did not reply. When his mother offered him food, he asked for a piece of tanned hide in which he placed the bustle and headdress and tied the bundle to the lodge wall.

Early the next morning, he returned to the cave where the man awaited him and said, "Fill the pipe and let us smoke." After they had smoked and the ashes were thrown away, the stranger said, "During your wanderings and peculiar behavior I was with you. I caused you to wander; I like your ways. The men in your village are attentive to women. You are not and for that reason I liked you. Those who wish to learn this dance must avoid women. If married men are to take part in a dance where fire is attacked, they must have no intercourse with their wives for thirty days. They must bathe every morning and evening. Now, I will show you the herbs and roots you must rub on your body when you dance; also the kind of wood you are to use in your fire. The wood and roots are brothers, that is, the roots rubbed on the body make anyone impervious to fire." [834]

They walked on the prairie and finally the man said, "Place four pinches of tobacco on the plant before digging the root." After this he had the privilege of digging as many plants as he wished for they had received tobacco. They returned to the cave and cut up the roots. In the meantime, the stranger instructed him in the performance of the dance. After the roots were dried, they were pounded up, mixed, and placed in a buckskin bag. He said, "This is the way you must prepare the medicine." Before the root is rubbed on the body, it should be put in a wooden bowl filled with water in which four live coals have been placed. Dip some of this up with a small buffalo horn spoon and put it in a wooden bowl and it is ready for use. If an enemy should attack your village do not mix the medicine in a bowl, chew some of the root, take it in your hands, and rub them on a kettle that is covered with soot and then rub the soot on your joints. You will hav no fear of the enemy's fire. If anyone is burned by fire or scalded, chew some of the root and place it upon the affected part and the cure will be immediate. After a time the medicine may be mixed in a bowl and the burnt part bathed with the concoction. After the wound has dried, you must kill a dog, mix the grease from the dog's body with the medicine and apply it to the wound. This will hasten the cure. If a man be wounded in battle, he must chew the root and bathe the wound with a mixture of roots and charcoal. After this the mixture of root and grease should be applied. This is all I can do for you now, but come to me once in a while. I will always be with you. You may now take what I have given you and return to your people."

Crow-feather went home. The next day he returned to the cave and found the man sitting near the fire. He thanked him for what he had done. He gave him presents and said "Brother, I brought these things for you have done a great thing for me." The mysterious man thanked him.

Crow-feather went home. Several days later he determined to see whether the medicinemen understood the fire. He built a sweat lodge of eighteen willow poles. From the hill he brought back limestone which he

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

622 756 778 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular importance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have consecrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

554 726

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pitahauirata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicineman in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

756 837

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

224 [223]

Love Medicine. There were no love medicines as among the northern Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

832 838

726 *No-flight Idea.* A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

342 532 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

834 *Sex Taboo.* Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

276 *Smoking.* A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicine-men, the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicine-men to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand. The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she would cause him to become essentially human. What animal power he had would quickly desert him.

The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted. When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing. No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to remain virgins until marriage.

Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise dressed as a man.

A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes. Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents. Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

of each mourner, asking that he cease crying. The chief gave each one a little food to break the fast. The remainder of the food was next divided, though nothing was distributed among the spectators; however, at the end of the feast they thanked the chief for his services. 765

Certain observances were obligatory for widows and widowers. A woman who had lost her husband was supposed to observe carefully a mourning period of at least a year, and in case he had been a man of prominence she might prolong this to two years. During this time she lived with her own people or she might stay in the lodge of her husband's parents. In the latter case it was understood that at the termination of the mourning period she would become the wife of her deceased husband's younger brother or the wife of his sister's son. Until that time she was supposed to remain chaste. A childless widow invariably returned to her parents' lodge, but following the mourning period she could remarry in the manner just noted or she could marry an outsider. However, in the latter instance she would not be considered as desirable as at the time she first married and the gifts to her relatives would be less. Thus if ten ponies were presented at her first marriage only one or two would be paid when she married again. 765 768 [587] [834] 768 587

Widowers were supposed to mourn for their wives at least two years, and sometimes mourned three. Many never remarried. Very often when a widower did not seek another spouse he was urged by his relatives to remarry, and they expressed their desire by offering to furnish the presents necessary to secure a second wife. As a rule, although a widower mourned for the usual period, he did not consider marrying again until he had gone on the war-path, taken scalps, and captured ponies. This was a somewhat formal way of terminating mourning and making himself eligible for remarriage. 765 768 587

It remains to record certain other observances connected with burial and mourning customs. As a rule, the close friends of the deceased performed some act of bodily mutilation immediately after or just before the burial, the men slashing their arms, breasts, or legs with knives and the women cutting their hair. Hair thus cut was at once burned, for fear that the Morning Star would see it upon the grave and claim the victim as his own sacrifice. For the same reason horse's hair cut off during burial services was also burned. 765

On the burial of a warrior killed in battle his close friends and relatives seized the first opportunity to visit enemy country 721 765

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particularly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age. They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

freedom. [I doubt that this was so between all persons of opposite sex—especially not brothers and sisters.] This does not imply that there was no sense of morality or convention. One of the greatest reproaches that could be heaped upon a man was to speak of him as *tihakakits*, which meant that the saliva ran down his face and implied that he lacked decency and did not treat women with respect.

Chastity, particularly among unmarried women, was held in high esteem. At the outskirts of every village were widows or girls who had been driven from home on account of immorality and who lived as prostitutes.

So far as was determined, but a single berdache has been known among the Pawnee for many years. Such an individual was said to have the ways of a woman and was supposed to have been influenced by the moon.

The lazy man was the slow one, the man who, as a boy, never carried water, packed corn, took the ponies to water, gathered wood for the fire, or ran away with a war party. Such a one was despised.

The coward was the one afraid to go on the warpath. He was always hanging around camp and never went out on the high hills at night for power because he was afraid of ghosts, as the burying grounds were generally on hills.

The stingy man was the sort who, when it was his wife's turn to provide food for the occupants of the lodge, put on the fire a tiny pot of meat only sufficient for himself.

The liar was one who always deceived people. He constantly came in with false news of having seen buffalo near-by. He gave false alarms when sent out as a scout. He was generally a coward as well, for he never, if he could help it, went out in front when in the presence of the enemy; yet he was always the first to return home and boast of his deeds in the fight. Should he lie four times about having seen buffalo his word was forever after doubted and he was despised and no attention paid to him. His joints got large and he became a cripple. When the Skidi saw a man whose joints were swollen with arthritis they said that it was the penalty he paid for having been a liar.

Insane and crazy persons in old times were not known as such; at any rate it is not remembered that they existed. A woman was said to be "mixed up," "her spirit is not straight," when she was under the influence of love medicine and powerless to control herself.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

girl who was in no position to carry the responsibilities of a mature woman would normally marry a mature man. The situation finally reversed itself when, after a marriage to an older man, the woman attains maturity and the competence to maintain a household. She is now in a position to choose a handsome young man as a second husband. The young man on his part finally gains maturity at the age of forty and can sue for the hand of a young girl of fifteen and join a household where his capabilities will be appreciated. The father and father's brothers of the girl will look around for such a person for their daughter and will be glad to entertain his suit. In fact, as a young girl gained her maturity, numbers of such men would sue for her hand. The "fathers" might have some scruples about the suitors that already had a wife, chiefly because of the ill feeling it might generate between the households involved. But a man was not compelled to limit his marital relations to one woman or to one household so long as he could fulfill his obligations, i.e., provide meat for all through his exceptional talents as a hunter and horses and other luxury goods through his special ability as a warrior that could bring home booty. There was thus a certain fluidity about the marriage situation, although some marriages did last for many years.

A proper marriage was arranged with considerable formality, with special acts and mutual gift-giving on the part of both families. The element that determined the most binding unions was a substantial gift of horses to the girl's family by the suitor. The amount of the gift was a mark of the esteem in which the bride was held, and, even in the 1920's, one old woman mentioned with pride from time to time that six horses were given for her. As a woman got older, a marriage involved less and less property consideration, although a man suing for the hand of a woman in her prime would be likely to give a horse to her brother or a relative who stood in an analogous relationship as a mark of his respect for her and an earnest of good faith with her family. Everyone felt that an informal liaison without some family arrangements was bound to be a passing thing.

A man's obligations to his children were to some extent independent of these considerations. The Pawnees were very literal about fatherhood. For a child to be accepted in the community with any decent status, its physiological father must be known. In any given month from one menstrual period to the next, a woman had to confine her sexual activities to one man only, and when she was aware through the cessation of menstruation that she had conceived, she was required to notify the man and point out on what occasion of intercourse together the child was conceived. The man was then obligated, until the child reached full maturity of eighteen or more, to provide it with fresh meat in whatever household it might be residing and in other ways to be concerned with its well-being. A woman who departed from this iron-clad rule was unable to